Social media and value conflicts

de Graaf, Gjalt; Meijer, Albert

published in
Public Administration Review
2019

DOI (link to publisher)
10.1111/puar.12914

document version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

citation for published version (APA)
de Graaf, G., & Meijer, A. (2019). Social media and value conflicts: An explorative study of the Dutch police. *Public Administration Review*, *79*(1), 82-92. https://doi.org/10.1111/puar.12914

PAR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION REVIEW

Gjalt de Graaf
Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
Albert Meijer
Utrecht University

Research Article

Social Media and Value Conflicts: An Explorative Study of the Dutch Police

Gjalt de Graaf is full professor in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration at Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. He co-chairs the Permanent EGPA Study Group on the Quality and Integrity of Governance. His research focuses on the management of conflicting public values, integrity of academic education, the influence of social media on public governance, and whistle-blowing.
E-mail: g.de.graaf@vu.nl

Albert Meijer is full professor in the Department of Public Administration and Organizational Science at Utrecht University. He co-chairs the EGPA Permanent Study Group on E-Government. His research focuses on public innovation, transparency, coproduction and e-government. He has published on social media and policing in several international journals.
E-mail: a.j.meijer@uu.nl

Abstract: *The use of social media produces new value conflicts in public governance. The police force is a public organization directly confronted with these changes. However, there is no systematic understanding of these conflicts in daily police practice or of the coping strategies used. This article presents an explorative understanding of the value conflicts and coping strategies within the police force by combining the literature on social media use in the public sector and the literature on value conflicts and by conducting a case study within the Dutch police. The empirical findings show, first, a growing emphasis on conflicts related to the values that are strongly embedded in social media use—specifically, conflicts between efficiency and participation and between transparency and lawfulness. Second, although dynamic coping strategies were expected, the research reveals that the police often use a conservative coping strategy to deal with these rapid changes.*

Evidence for Practice

- Reevaluate police priorities: more resources are needed for the digital street.
- Recognize that new police guidelines are needed to maintain law and order on the digital street, with explicit attention paid to the way the norms on the digital and physical streets differ.
- Constantly monitor the legal rules governing the use of social media, keeping an eye on the continuously changing context.
- Professionalize police use of social media and create team accounts instead of personal accounts. Carefully manage the expectations of citizens when using social media.
- Acknowledge that the police no longer control communication and, in specific cases, be more proactive in communicating what the police know and do not know. Especially necessary in those departments involving detectives, this will mean a change of culture.

Social media use and social networks have the potential to dramatically change the relationship between government and citizens (Chew and Eysenbach 2010; de Graaf and Meijer 2013; Morozov 2013). Think, for example, of the "Facebook revolutions" in 2009 in Iran and in 2011 in Egypt and Tunisia (Howard and Parks 2012). While these Facebook revolutions demonstrate that social media can empower citizens and change politics, the London riots in 2011 seem to show the dark side of these changing relations when social media is used to coordinate looting (Trottier and Fuchs 2015). The riots that were organized through social media have shown that local public governance has insufficient understanding of the impact social media can have (Briggs 2012). In the Netherlands, Project X in Haren in September 2012—a birthday party turned into a mass gathering organized over Facebook that resulted in riots and vandalism—was possible because local public governance did not understand the impact of social media and did not know how it needed to respond (CommissieHaren 2013).

This mode of communication is connected to micro-organization, framing, and unpredictability; facilitates large-scale action; and offers alternatives to conventional patterns of public decision-making and participation (Bekkers, Moody, and Edwards 2011; Korthagen and Van Meerkerk 2014). The possibilities that social media offer the public to massively share information have consequences for public governance (de Graaf and Meijer 2013; ROB 2012). Social media and social networks are changing society and thereby triggering new conflicts within local public governance in terms of, for example, respecting the privacy of citizens versus maintaining law and order in society.

Conflicts between values such as the protection of privacy of citizens and the maintenance of law and order in society are not new, and local public

Public Administration Review, Vol. 79, Iss. 1, pp. 82–92. © 2018 by The American Society for Public Administration.
DOI: 10.1111/puar.12914.

governance has found ways to deal with them through coping strategies that rely on, among other things, organizational procedures and the training of civil servants. Both the riots in London and the vandalism in Haren, however, demonstrate that a new mode of communication is facilitating large-scale action and radically changing the interactions between government and society (Bekkers, Moody, and Edwards 2011; Bertot, Jaeger, and Grimes 2010). The use of social media by these different groups of citizens thus challenges current strategies for coping with value conflicts in public governance (Sørensen and Torfing 2005).

The main argument in this article is that value conflicts are inherent in public governance, and this means that government organizations must develop coping strategies to deal with these conflicts (Thacher and Rein 2004). At the same time, these coping strategies work best when they fit the nature of the interactions in society. Changes in the nature of these interactions challenge coping strategies and call for reassessment. This article explores how the changes in society resulting from the use of social media challenge the strategies for coping with value conflicts and asks what new coping strategies are being developed.

All government organizations have to deal with these social media changes in society, but the London riots and Project X in Haren clearly indicate how these changes have a direct impact on the *police force*. The police use social media themselves (Meijer and Thaens 2013) but are also confronted with new forms of mass communication in society that change their daily operations. For this reason, this explorative research on the impact of the use of social media on value conflicts in the public sector focuses on the police. The research question is twofold: *which value conflicts are perceived within the Dutch police as caused by (societal and police use of) social media, and what strategies are used to deal with these conflicts?*

These questions are answered by combining the literatures on social media in the public sector and on value conflicts and by conducting empirical research within the Dutch police. The findings show a growing emphasis on conflicts related to the values of transparency and participation that are strongly embedded in social media use. In addition, this research highlights that a more conservative strategy—bias—is the most frequently mentioned coping strategy. It can be concluded that the values of transparency and participation—part of the logic of social media—create new challenges for the police, and possibly for the whole public sector. It is also likely that public organizations may tend to choose more conservative coping strategies instead of strategies that help people learn about the conflicts in a dynamic and rapidly changing environment.

Theoretical Background

Conflicting Public Values and Coping Strategies

As a response to worries about democratic legitimacy in new public governance (e.g., Bevir 2010; Sørensen 2002; Sørensen and Torfing 2005) and to general fears about public values "being lost" in new organizational governance arrangements and approaches to public management (Jørgensen and Bozeman 2002), many governments have adopted good governance codes with lists of public values that should characterize the quality of governance (Jørgensen and Sørensen 2013). Easy as it is to applaud specific values—who is against integrity, democracy, or efficiency?—and set these values down on paper in a code, it is much harder to subsequently act in line with all of them. In daily practice, multiple public values that are all desirable will conflict in such a way that choices have to be made (Huberts and Van Hout 2011; Oldenhof, Postma, and Putters 2014). For example, de Graaf and Paanakker (2015) found that an often-perceived conflict in public governance is between lawfulness and transparency. The most common value conflict in a case study of a municipality (de Graaf, Huberts, and Smulders 2016) was between transparency and effectiveness.

On the police, Willis and Mastrofski (2016, 12) stated, "In focusing on what works, police science has tended to focus on only one largely unambiguous value, that of public safety or crime control. This is an important goal of the police, especially in light of its contribution to liberty (Sherman 2009) but our respondents' comments draw attention to their sensitivity to a much broader array of moral considerations." In his classic study *Justice without Trial* (1967), the criminologist Skolnick (1967) discussed the dilemmas between law and order that police experience. The police place practitioners in many situations in which good ends can be achieved by immoral (and/or illegal) means (Klockars 1980). What is clear from Skolnick's study is that the police experience many value conflicts in their jobs and cannot be easily classified as "bad guys" or "good guys" when they are forced to choose between two or more important yet conflicting values. A more recent study by Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2003) on the everyday choices of street-level bureaucrats (cf. Lipsky 1980) (police, teachers, social workers) has documented the tension between the goals of public actors on behalf of their individual citizen-clients and the demands and limitations of the rules of governing.

Research on conflicting intrinsic public values is of special importance *now*. Broad social, political, and economic developments, such as individualization, globalization, and information technology (Boutellier 2011)—and social media in particular—have a profound influence on how public problems are solved (public governance). Society and public governance become more and more differentiated (Bevir 2010), leading to *changing* and *new* public value conflicts (de Graaf and Meijer 2013). New strategies are needed to deal with these value conflicts as contexts change. Citizens, for example, are more involved in public governance. The police recently posted a picture of a maltreated dog on social media asking whether anyone knew its owner. Instead of contacting the police, people who thought they knew the person approached him with baseball clubs. There is another police dilemma. Many crimes are committed in cyberspace today: should (mis)behavior on virtual "streets" be treated the same as in actual streets?

As is evident from Lipsky's classic (1980) study, for public actors, value conflict is unavoidable: it is a fact of administrative life. Decisions in public governance involve contending with diverse and often conflicting values (O'Kelly and Dubnick 2005, 394). "Public administrators are often faced with making difficult choices or judgments among incompatible and incommensurable values" (Spicer 2009, 541). Wagenaar (1999, 444) argued that "public programs are structured in such a way that they regularly

confront the administrator with difficult value choices." This in itself is not a problem: perhaps value conflicts bring forth change for the better through innovation and alertness. Yet there is a danger that value conflict lead to a state of paralysis, and, for those facing such conflicts, coping strategies (or coping mechanisms, as they are also called in the literature) should prevent that paralysis. For example, Lipsky showed how civil servants sometimes routinize their actions. Doing so makes life easier, as choices for a particular value have to be made only once, after which it becomes routine.

Many ethnographic studies of particular administrators and public professionals (e.g., Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2003; Skolnick 1967) have shown that public actors do not treat values as *commensurable*. In daily public governance practice, intrinsically desirable public values conflict, so choices have to be made (de Graaf and Van der Wal 2010; Van der Wal, de Graaf, and Lawton 2011). On how to deal with values in public governance, Thacher and Rein (2004, 458) wrote,

> Based on an examination of practice in crime policy, retirement policy, and refugee policy, we argue that policy actors often do not treat conflicting values as commensurable. Instead, they cope with value conflict by drawing from a repertoire of alternative strategies . . . As we explain throughout, none of these three strategies requires commensurability among values, but each can be a rational response to conflicting public values.

Thacher and Rein described how value conflicts that are unsolved can lead to psychological stress and paralyze public officials. Conventionally, Thacher and Rein argued, the response of public actors to value conflicts has been seen as a matter of balancing competing goals or making a trade-off. The archetype of trade-off is the cost–benefit analysis: public values are given a monetary value and the optimum is calculated. But, as Lukes (1996) has shown, not all our choices are to be understood as trade-offs. Thacher and Rein developed an (empirically grounded) theoretical framework for understanding how policy actors cope with value ambiguity. Each strategy has its own advantages and disadvantages. They name three coping strategies: firewalls, cycling, and casuistry. Stewart (2006) has discussed—in the context of policy change—the three strategies of Thacher and Rein, which she calls "processes," and added three more (thus broadening the range of possible strategies; cf. de Graaf, Huberts, and Smulders 2016). The six coping strategies are as follows:

- *Firewalls* mean that different organizations, departments, or persons are made responsible for the realization of different values.
- *Bias* entails that some values are no longer recognized as important, taking away the value conflict between these and other values.
- *Casuistry* entails that public officials make decisions for each particular value conflict based on their experiences in similar cases.
- *Cycling* means that the values that are considered important are limited for a specific period until resistance leads to them being overturned and other values being taken into account again.
- *Hybridization* entails the combination of various conflicting values, for instance, as a result of new additions to earlier policies introducing new values.
- *Incrementalism* entails more and more emphasis slowly being put on one particular value.

None of these strategies requires commensurability, yet they avoid a paralyzing situation which is often the result of carefully weighing the relative importance of conflicting values (Millgram 1997); in this article, they are used as conceptual lenses to study how conflicting values are dealt with in the police.

The literature on coping strategies pays relatively little attention to how organization adjust their coping strategies over time. A general notion is that more institutionally embedded approaches are more difficult to adjust than approaches that stress individual judgment (Scott 2013). Certain strategies, such as firewalls and bias, are of an institutional or routine nature, whereas others, such as casuistry, hybridization, and incrementalism, create more room for flexible responses (de Graaf, Huberts, and Smulders 2016). Our research explores which type of strategy will be applied to react to the changing social media environment.

Social Media as a Game Changer

The implications of social media for politics have been extensively investigated (Loader 2007; Loader and Mercea 2011; Shirky 2011), and the instrumental implications of social media for governance have also been explored (Mergel 2013; Mossberger, Wu, and Crawford 2013). There are a number of robust investigations into the use of social media for some types of police work, such as community relations and crime control (Beshears 2016; Crump 2011; Davis, Alves, and Sklansky 2014; Grimmelikhuijsen and Meijer 2015; Meijer and Thaens 2013; Meijer and Torenvlied 2016). However, the impacts on value conflicts and coping strategies are not yet well understood.

The literature on social media presents a sociotechnological perspective: the resulting practices can be understood as emerging from technological features and social context (Mergel and Bretschneider 2013). New technologies are adapted by organizations and, in the process, cognitive challenges, power struggles, and value conflicts emerge. This article sets out to enhance our understanding of how the logic of social media influences the nature of value conflicts in the public sector and the strategies for coping with them. Science and technology studies highlight that technologies do not determine the outcome of social practices but facilitate certain patterns of use or render them more likely (for an overview, see Taylor et al. 2001; Williams and Edge 1996). These studies highlight that media contains a certain "script" that does not determine its use but facilitates certain patterns of use over others. Postman (1985) even argued that media changes the way we experience the world and results in another epistemology.

The idea of media influencing social interaction has also been developed in "new medium studies" (Deibert 1997; Hutchby 2001, 2003). The basic assumption of this theory is that media structures communication by facilitating certain forms of interaction while hindering others. The term used in new medium studies is "affordance"; this concept carries more or less the same meaning

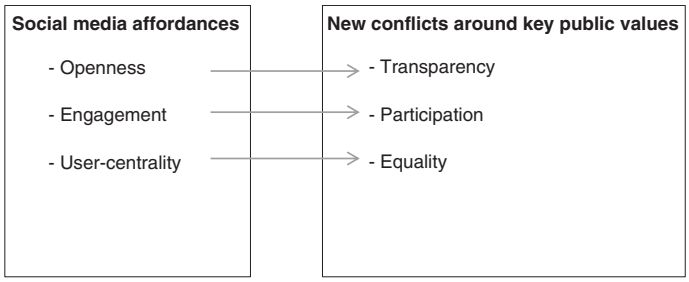

Figure 1 Overview of Theoretical Expectation 1

as the term "script" as it is used in science and technology studies. Sellen and Harper (2002, 17, 18) explained this in the following manner: "An affordance refers to the fact that the physical properties of an object make possible different functions for the person perceiving or using that object."

Previous research enables identification of certain emerging communication patterns in social media that can help identify affordances. This research highlights that social media makes it possible to organize ad hoc, en masse, without formal membership and at low cost (Bekkers, Moody, and Edwards 2011; Mergel 2015); that social media helps produce openness and can be used as an anticorruption tool (Bertot, Jaeger, and Grimes 2010; Bonsón et al. 2012); and that social media fundamentally differs from the mass media in its focus on individual users (Andersen et al. 2011; Verdegem and Verleye 2009). The academic literature on social media is expansive, but three affordances of social media that are specifically relevant for our explorative analysis of the effects on coping strategies of bureaucratic organizations frequently feature in the analyses: openness, engagement, and user-centrality (Chun et al. 2010; Meijer et al. 2012; Van Dijk 2012; Wellman and Haythornthwaite 2008). These affordances challenge bureaucratic organizations, since conventional ways of processing communication through gatekeepers and press contacts no longer work.

The literature on (social) media highlights that this type of media is not value neutral but contains a script that puts an emphasis on certain patterns of use. The script emphasizes openness, engagement, and user-centrality, and the expectation is that this emphasis will result in a shift in the value conflicts that public officials are facing. One could expect that the characteristic of openness may result in new conflicts around the value of transparency, the characteristic of engagement may trigger new conflicts around participation, and the characteristic of user-centrality may trigger more conflicts around equality.

Preliminary Propositions about Social Media and Value Conflicts

The goal of this article is to describe which new value conflicts social media causes within the Dutch police and what strategies are used to deal with these conflicts. The relevant literature on social media and on value conflicts does not have this as its focus; explorative empirical research is therefore needed. Two preliminary propositions on the basis of both bodies of literature will first be presented.

The literature on (social) media highlights that this type of media is not neutral but contain a script that puts an emphasis on certain patterns of use. Classic work by Rob Kling (1996) stresses that these changes not only raise instrumental issues but also imply value conflicts. Based on the literature, openness, engagement and user-centrality are identified as relevant affordances, and the expectation that guides this explorative research is that these affordances will result in a shift in the value conflicts that public officials are facing. The literature on public values stresses that public governance is rife with intrinsic public values that are in conflict and incommensurable (de Graaf, Huberts, and Smulders 2016). This leads to the proposition that the characteristic of openness results in new conflicts around the value of transparency, the characteristic of engagement triggers new conflicts around participation, and the characteristic of user-centrality triggers more conflicts around equality.

The literature on value conflicts stresses that certain coping strategies, such as firewalls and bias, are of an institutional or routine nature, whereas other strategies, such as casuistry, cycling, hybridization, and incrementalism, create more room for flexible responses (Thacher and Rein 2004). This suggests that in the situation of continuous change that results from the use of generations of new media, organizations will opt for the strategies that create the opportunity for flexible responses (see e.g., Pal and Pantaleo 2005). A second proposition is that organizations and public servants will opt more often for these dynamic strategies to deal with rapid change than choose stable strategies that work well in stable conditions.

The two expectations are summarized in figures 1 and 2. The following section describes the design of the empirical research carried out to test and further develop these propositions.

Research Background and Methodology

In this study, an explorative and inductive research strategy is used (de Graaf 2005; de Graaf and Huberts 2008; Eisenhardt 1989; Glaser and Strauss 1967). A case study design focuses on understanding the dynamics present within a single setting (Eisenhardt 1989; Herriott and Firestone 1983; Yin 1989) in order to generate theory in the shape of propositions (Gersick 1988; Harris and Sutton 1986). This method is fitting when not much is known about a phenomenon that is being researched or when the phenomenon is so complex that neither the variables nor the exact relationship between the variables are fully definable (Hoesel 1985), as is the case with the research question at hand.

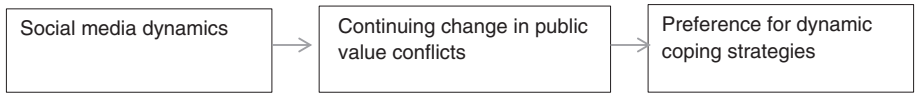

Figure 2 Overview of Theoretical Expectation 2

This study focuses on the value conflicts that police perceived are caused by social media and how they are dealt with. The case study is the Dutch National Police. Since 2013, the National Police has been one police corps with 10 regional units, one national unit, and a police services center. Because of limited resources, not all regions could be included in the study. Five regional units spread throughout the Netherlands were selected and were considered representative of the Dutch National Police: the units in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Limburg, North Holland, and North Netherlands. Thus, the two largest cities and its bureaus were involved, as well as smaller cities in the Netherlands.

The case study consists of semi-open interviews. It was to be expected that the value conflicts experienced would differ among different types of actors within the police. Therefore, within each of the five units, interviews were held with different functionaries at the strategic, operational, and support levels, as the literature on social media in the police highlights that perspectives on social media use may differ considerably depending on organizational position (Meijer and Torenvlied 2016). The interviews were held with police personnel at different levels and with different (relevant) roles: senior police constables, detectives, community police officers, communication advisors, heads of police, police sergeants, and social media project leaders. In total, 52 interviews were conducted.

The first respondents in each regional unit were approached with the assistance of *Police & Science,* a Bureau of the Dutch Police supporting scientific police studies. They made up an advisory committee that critically followed each step of the research. When a targeted interviewee was known by a member of the research team or the advisory committee, the interviewee was approached through that contact. Also, together with *Police & Science,* a document for potential interviewees was written, explaining what the research was about and stating that the research had the support of *Police & Science*. Additional respondents were recruited using snowball sampling (Boeije 2010), making sure that in each of the five regional units, respondents represented each of the three levels. Efforts were made to ensure that in each regional unit, respondents who had little experience with social media were also involved. More background on respondents is given in table 1.

The appendix sets out the interview questions. The first questions were about the changes within the police caused by social media, as perceived by the respondents. From previous research on public values (de Graaf, Huberts, and Smulders 2016; Willis and Mastrofski 2016), it has become clear that many interviewees initially consider the role of values in governance to be abstract. They are, however, able to make the values more concrete—for themselves and the researchers—when actual (value) conflicts were discussed. For that reason, further questions were asked about the difficult situations or dilemmas experienced and the role of social media therein. Questions were asked about (1) perceptions within the police of conflicting values caused by social media; (2) relevant dilemmas experienced, foreseen, or known; and (3) how to best deal with the dilemmas. The specific (value) conflicts that respondents perceive is important here, as is how they justify (Boltanski and Thévenot 1999, 2006) and frame (Schön and Rein 1994) them. All interviews were taped and transcribed literally. All respondents were guaranteed that their identities would not be made public.

Coding and Research Heuristic

The transcribed interviews amounted to a great deal of data. Using the software program MAXQDA to help with the text analysis, the interviews were coded in various steps (Boeije 2010). The purpose of the coding was to identify the specific value conflicts experienced in the case and the specific coping strategies that were used. To accomplish that, first, all the dilemmas were identified, and then it was determined which coping strategy had been used. These steps were based on systematic approaches to coding qualitative material (Schilling 2006) and will now be discussed in more detail.

The questions in the interviews were the basis of the main codes developed. The focus here was on difficult decisions/dilemmas that came to the fore (de Graaf 2016). The code book gave in detail what was considered evidence of a dilemma (e.g., which words could indicate that, such as "difficult situation"). An intercoder reliability check was performed by three researchers coding the same transcript with the same code book. These three codings were very similar, and when there were differences, they were discussed until agreement was reached, leading to small changes in the code book to be used for the other transcripts.

Once all the dilemmas were coded in the transcripts, the next step was to identify the specific value conflicts experienced and determine whether social media played a role in them. As in other research (de Graaf, Huberts, and Smulders 2016), in order to specify which particular values are in conflict in the experienced dilemmas, the Dutch governance code for the public sector, drafted by the Dutch Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations in 2009, was used. This code lists seven principles of good governance, but on a closer look (see de Graaf, Huberts, and Smulders 2016), it becomes clear that some of these principles contain several values. In the end, 10 public values were found to be central in this study (see table 2).

Table 1 Overview of Interviews and Regional Units

Level	Function Profiles	Amsterdam	Limburg	North Holland	North Netherlands	Rotterdam
Strategic	Senior police constables				1	1
	Project leaders	2	1	1	2	2
	Coordinator			1		1
Operational	Detective (also internet detectives)	3	1	5	2	1
	Community police officers	2	3	3	1	2
	Head officers	2	2	1		1
Support	Communication	2	1	2	3	1
	service center					2
Total		**11**	**8**	**13**	**9**	**11**

Table 2 The 10 Values

1. *Transparency*. Acting transparently toward all stakeholders on procedures and decisions
2. *Participation*. Involving the environment and stakeholders in decision-making
3. *Accountability*. Acting willingly to justify and explain actions to relevant stakeholders
4. *Legitimacy*. Acting with public support
5. *Effectiveness*. Acting to achieve the desired results
6. *Efficiency*. Acting to achieve results with minimal means
7. *Integrity*. Acting in accordance with relevant moral values and norms
8. *Lawfulness*. Acting in accordance with existing laws and rules
9. *Professionalism*. Acting with expertise, including learning from previous mistakes
10. *Equality*. Treating equal cases equally

For analysis, a single researcher identified the specific value conflicts, based on the definition of the values given in table 2, and the coping strategies used in the conflict, based on the descriptions of the strategies given earlier. Since this process is always subjective, all the outcomes were checked by a second researcher. When opinions differed, the case was discussed between the two researchers until consensus was reached. Then, when the same conflicts were identified more than once within the same regional unit, they were combined so that the value conflict would not be counted twice.

In table 3, the value conflicts found in each regional unit are summarized. This provides an answer to the first part of the research question: which value conflicts are perceived within the Dutch police as caused by (societal and police use of) social media?

Table 4 shows the coping strategies identified. It indicates that "bias" is clearly the most frequently used coping strategy in the case of the Dutch police. The table is an answer to the second part of the research question. More detailed description of the conflicts experienced will suggest that bias is most often used for the value of lawfulness. Hybridization is also used frequently.

Once a list of value conflicts and coping strategies was made, this was analyzed in the various contexts. For example, the analysis looked at whether different value conflicts were experienced and different coping strategies adopted at different levels. Next, first impressions of overall patterns were observed and then juxtaposed with the empirical data. This inductive process is clearly not a matter of counting. Respondents were not randomly selected, and 52 interviews are, for quantitative purposes, too small a sample, but the idea of this explorative study is to consider the nuances and context of value conflicts that are experienced. C*onstant comparison* was conducted (Boeije 2010), in which the researchers repeatedly went through the themes to compare results. Thus, it is important not just *that* a respondent experienced a value conflict but *which* one and how it was dealt with and how it was worded. This inductive analysis process was repeated many times before the final analysis was written. Eisenhardt (1989, 541) explained that "the central idea is that researchers constantly compare theory with data—iterating toward a theory which closely fits the data. A close fit is important to building good theory because it takes advantage of the new insights possible from the data and yields an empirically valid theory."

In order to gain more insight into the advantages and disadvantages of the coping strategies, a workshop was organized (June 21, 2016) with 16 social media project leaders from 11 Dutch police units. The outcome of the case study and the value conflicts that were found were discussed with them, as well as the strategies that had been identified. This gave the researchers more insight into the different strategies used.

The Four Most Perceived Value Conflicts and Coping Strategies

The four value conflicts most frequently perceived in the case of the Dutch police will now be discussed in more detail.

Table 3 Overview of the Value Conflicts in the Five Regional Units

		Amsterdam	Limburg	North Holland	North Netherlands	Rotterdam	Total
1.	**Effectiveness versus efficiency**	**4**	**3**	**5**	**2**	**4**	**18**
2.	**Effectiveness versus lawfulness**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**2**	**10**
3.	Effectiveness versus integrity	1	1				2
4.	Effectiveness versus transparency	1					1
5.	Effectiveness versus participation				1		1
6.	Effectiveness versus accountability			1			1
7.	Efficiency versus legitimacy		1				1
8.	Efficiency versus equality				1		1
9.	**Efficiency versus participation**	**2**	**1**		**1**	**1**	**5**
10.	Transparency versus professionalism	1					1
11.	Transparency versus integrity	2	1				3
12.	Lawfulness versus participation			1	1		2
13.	**Lawfulness versus transparency**		**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**5**

Table 4 Overview of Coping Strategies Used in the Five Cases

		Amsterdam	Limburg	North Holland	North Netherlands	Rotterdam	Total
1.	Firewalls						0
2.	Bias	4	4	3	4	4	19
3.	Casuistry	3	2		2	2	9
4.	Cycling	1		2	1	1	4
5.	Incrementalism		2	1		1	4
6.	Hybridization	6	1	2	2	2	13

Effectiveness versus Efficiency

As was found to be the case in previous research on value conflicts (de Graaf and Paanakker 2015), the most frequently perceived conflict in this case study is the classic one between effective governance and efficient governance (i.e., working in a more efficient manner might mean that the work is done less effectively).

The coping strategy used in this value conflict in the case of the police is bias, with a bias toward efficiency; there is simply no time to pursue all the signals that social media produce. There was occasional evidence of hybridization, especially when the value conflict received considerable (social) media attention. Sometimes police officers on patrol saw it as their duty to pick up local signals.

On an operational level, in the case study, only a (small) proportion of the detectives are found to be active online. Information about criminal acts increasingly comes up through social media—for example, videos of youth mistreating people. A police officer on the street witnessing such a scene would act immediately. On the digital street, things are less clear. Although there are many such videos, often nothing is officially reported to the police. Additionally, the context on the digital street is often less clear than in actual streets. This all explains a bias toward efficiency at the expense of effectiveness (solving crime): it takes too much time and money to seriously research information that comes in through social media. However, in the case study, there was no clear policy on how to deal with this value conflict. One example that was mentioned was of a video on Facebook showing a boy kicking a girl very hard in the back. The video got a great deal of attention and caused much social unrest, with the complication that, in these sorts of scenarios, citizens can play their own judge and jury, find the boy, and "punish" him. Perhaps as the incidence of these videos becomes more frequent, effectiveness will come under more pressure.

On the strategic level, the conflict between efficiency and effectiveness was sometimes discussed. Videos posted on social media can make an enormous impact on police work, and the massive attention they can gather is sometimes difficult to handle. An example mentioned was the so-called pony pletters: on a third-party site, pictures were shown of overweight people sitting on ponies that collapse under their weight. When this was happening, the police did not know what to do and found it difficult to act effectively. As a respondent said, "The street is partly digitalized. We have not sufficiently translated how to act as the police on the digital street. To uphold law and order . . . I sometimes say: the street is digitalized, so we need more blue online if you want to do your job well."

Coping Strategies. As stated, bias and hybridization are the most-used strategies for this value conflict in this case. The disadvantage of bias (de Graaf, Huberts, and Smulders 2016) is that the conflict is dealt with in favor of one value (efficiency) at the expense of another (effectiveness). The digital world gets "larger and larger" and includes punishable acts that, currently, are rarely picked up on; much is left alone (Wall 2003). Normally the advantage of the bias strategy is that it creates clarity; a choice is made between two values. But the use of hybridization indicates—and the case study shows—that actors are far from clear on how to deal with this value conflict. A known disadvantage of bias is dissatisfaction among employees and that was also found to be the case here. That effectiveness is an important value in police culture and yet much crime is left alone contributes to dissatisfaction among police personnel. As respondents said, "Dealing with online crime should not be a hobby anymore"; "Sometimes it looks right now like you can do anything you want online, without consequences." Another aspect of this is insecurity about the etiquette online. Insulting a police officer in the street is more quickly dealt with than the same insult on social media.

Effectiveness versus Lawfulness

The conflict between lawfulness and effectiveness is a classic one for the police and, as mentioned earlier, Skolnick (1967) has described the dilemma between law and order. Here in the case study, there was clear evidence that social media is causing new conflicts between lawfulness and effectiveness. Technological developments happen quickly while law and regulation lag behind, leading to much uncertainty within police organizations. For example, the police are not allowed to follow a person without reasonable suspicion and the permission of a public prosecutor; without permission, the police are not allowed to scan someone's public social media profile. What, then, can the police do on Facebook? It is clear that they cannot randomly check people's Facebook pages. And there is also much uncertainty about the legal rules concerning new social media developments. On both the strategic and operational levels, the (legal) rules concerning social media are unclear, creating a gray area for police officers.

Dutch law requires that when social media play a role, for example, in investigations, permission by the public prosecutor is needed; consideration of privacy plays an important role in this, and obtaining permission can take some time. Here, lawfulness conflicts with the participation of citizens in the (rapid) detection of suspects. Legal boundaries—for example, about privacy—make it hard to use social media effectively and quickly.

In the case study, there was also uncertainty about the consequences of the police's own social media actions. For example, in one instance, the police used Twitter to find a suicidal woman. The woman was found, and in that sense, it was a successful and effective action. But that police tweet can still be found on the internet. Typing the woman's name into Google quickly leads to this tweet, and this has obvious negative consequences for privacy.

Coping Strategies. In the case study, the legal framework played an important role, leading to the bias strategy being applied in favor of lawfulness at the expense of effectiveness. Sometimes fighting crime is more effective when bending the rules. This bias coping strategy contributes to keeping the workload at an acceptable level—but at the expense of effectiveness. Sometimes, information is available to any citizen but not formally to the police, and this causes misunderstanding. A respondent said, "One problem is that often the largest newspaper knows, the press agency knows, but detectives do not know because of legal barriers."

The disadvantage of bias is that it is always at the expense of another value, in this case effectiveness. And, just as in the previous value conflict described, the traditional advantage—clarity within the organization—does not manifest itself. That is not because it is

unclear that there is a bias for lawfulness, but because there is much uncertainty around social media about what is legal and what is not. Partly, this is unavoidable. The rapidity of technological development will always leave law and regulation somewhat behind; there will always be a gray area. But besides updating law on a regular basis, it is advisable that a way is found to deal with this complexity and uncertainty. According to social media project leaders, procedures could also be improved. For example, the public prosecutor's permission could be obtained more quickly with technologically more advanced systems than the telephone.

Efficiency versus Participation

Many community police officers in the Dutch case study are active on social media sites such as Twitter in order to build a good relationship with citizens; they want to enhance police transparency and citizen participation in police work. However, it takes time to build a good network, and such networking can generate a large volume of response from the public, with some community police officers feeling pressure from social media to react quickly. It is felt that the expectation of always being online is an intrinsic characteristic of the use of social media (Turkle 2011). On both an operational and a support level, conflict was experienced between participation and efficiency. The officers want to promote participation through Twitter, but they wrestle with time and the expected 24/7 availability. Currently, in the Dutch case, much depends on the individual choices and skills of police officers, and spending time on Twitter is additional to other duties; the police organizations do not allocate time for this.

Coping Strategies. Here, community police officers, in particular, did not want to choose between participation and efficiency because they value them both so highly, and therefore used a hybridization strategy. For better or worse, they try to keep the time and attention paid to Twitter within limits. Actors do not always succeed in the balancing act—it is, after all, a matter of value conflict—and Twitter seems to take up the police officers' free time. Guidelines on how to handle social media would be helpful for many officers. According to the social media project leaders, another strategy could be based on the concept of the firewall: create team accounts—geographically, for example—and end the use of personal accounts. This could redirect responsibility for using Twitter to the organizational level and solve the individual dilemmas.

Lawfulness versus Transparency

From the case study, it is clear that the police have lost much control over communication because of social media. One respondent said, "Sometimes social media determines what the story is." Social media creates value conflicts between lawfulness and transparency at the strategic, operational and support levels. Information and ideas are spread quickly, and this takes away police control over communication. Citizens can react emotionally, and the information they spread may not be accurate. Moreover, there is an impression emerging from the case study that citizens have become more assertive about their opinions, and social media has a low access threshold for them. Official police communication has to be based on facts and is constrained by a variety of legal requirements, such as consideration of privacy. One respondent said, "It is difficult to keep citizens as your friend, do your job well, and follow all the rules."

The police have a bias strategy in this conflict, with an emphasis on lawfulness, and this can create the image of an incompetent police force. Many officers find it hard to deal with the expectations of citizens and to stay within the rules at the same time. For example, since information and speculation circulates quickly on social media, the identity of a murder victim or suspect could be broadcast widely within seconds. The use of social media forces the police to be less constrained than they used to be and to react quickly to such speculations. This can come at the expense of carefulness and even of lawfulness. Not all information can be shared immediately in an ongoing investigation, legal rules are not always clear, time is needed to check facts, and there are constantly new technological developments and new platforms. One example given was a murder scene where the police used Periscope so as to be as open as possible to the public and to control the communication of the crime as much as possible. The police recorded live images and answered questions from citizens directly. Later, it turned out that filming the public at such a scene and spreading these images publicly is illegal. This is reminiscent of a cycling strategy. One respondent thought, "The police [force] is too much stuck in its old processes. First they want to gather all the information and only at a late stage is a press conference called."

Coping Strategies. In the Dutch case, the importance of lawfulness is widely acknowledged within the police; the strategy used most is bias in favor of lawfulness. Yet there were signs that because of social media, the police are increasingly under pressure to change their style of communication. In police culture, there is a great reluctance to share information during investigations, and the police are used to having full control of information. This is changing rapidly, and somehow the police need to adapt: their public image is damaged by overrestraint in sharing information.

The respondents who worked for police communication talked about an old-fashioned, too-closed culture within the police, and therefore a hybridization strategy seems a good alternative to the current bias strategy. Respondents indicated that lawfulness should always be an important value, but more room had to be created for transparency. This could be achieved by sharing as many facts as possible (for example those things the public can see for themselves), giving updates and explaining why certain information can*not* be shared. Or—instead of keeping completely quiet—communicate that the identity of the victim is known to the police but cannot be made public at the moment for specific reasons. This might mean a change of police culture. Mistakes are then unavoidable, and might also lead to image damage, but currently the police are facing a loss of credibility. "We will not say anything" can lead to image damage when information is already on the digital street.

Conclusions and Implications for Public Management

Two propositions were formulated addressing which value conflicts occur most because of social media and which strategies are used most. The literature suggests that there ought to be more conflicts around the values of transparency, participation, and equality, since these may be influenced by social media's characteristics of openness, engagement and user-centrality. The empirical research found that the well-known conflicts between effectiveness and efficiency and effectiveness and lawfulness were still dominant, but many others were identified around the values of transparency and

participation. This is in contrast to studies on public values conflicts that are not focused on the influence of social media (e.g., de Graaf, Huberts, and Smulders 2016). Despite the user-centrality of social media, there was no support for the expectation that equality would play a more prominent role in the most important value conflicts.

Where the literature prompted the expectation that more dynamic strategies—casuistry, incrementalism, and hybridization—would be more prominent in view of the dynamic and rapid changes in society, the findings here result in mixed conclusions. No evidence of a firewall strategy was found (though in the efficiency versus participation conflict, it is suggested that it would be a good strategy to consider: its advantages could outweigh the strategies currently used). The bias strategy was the single most frequently mentioned strategy, even though the other strategies, taken in combination, were mentioned more often. This suggests that in a dynamic situation, a more conservative reaction, bias, may be preferred as a strategy for dealing with value conflicts.

The use of social media is changing rapidly communication patterns in the public sector. The implications for politics have been well examined, but the impact on governance is less understood. This article aims to strengthen our understanding of the relationship between social media use and public value conflicts with a specific organization selected for explorative study. The research focused on which value conflicts are perceived within the Dutch police as caused by (societal and police use of) social media, and what strategies are used to deal with these conflicts. Tables 3 and 4 provide most of the answers.

A first conclusion is that social media, indeed, results in certain values—participation and transparency—having a powerful role in value conflicts that are directly connected to the affordances of social media, such as openness and engagement. The emphasis in social media on transparency and participation results in value conflicts for the police: they feel the pressure to share information and engage citizens, whereas this may conflict with other values. The findings highlight that the values of participation and transparency are not taken lightly but actually result in a series of new conflicts. More conflicts around equality might have been expected since social media emphasizes user-centrality, but there was no evidence of this. A possible explanation is that the police tend to use social media as an interactive mass medium rather than directing its use to specific groups. One could assume that user-centrality is too time-consuming for the police and therefore not practiced or, alternatively, does not fit within the police's legalistic approach to external communications. These mechanisms need to be explored further through in-depth analysis to understand how the police deal with the media affordance of user-centrality.

A second conclusion is that the police often use a more conservative strategy to deal with dynamic changes. The strategy of bias provides guidance to police officers but actually denies the nature of the conflict. When bias is deployed in a value conflict, police may ignore shifting value patterns in society resulting from the use of open media. This may hamper their ability to react in a proper manner to these new conflicts and undermine their legitimacy in a changing social environment. It can be assumed that casuistry, especially, opens up possibilities of reassessing previous positions and engaging in a process of learning about value conflicts. This strategy is applied, but considerably less frequently than bias. The preferences for the more conservative strategy can possibly be attributed to habit or socialization, to the pressures of accountability and the calculation of risk to the reputation of the police. One could argue that dynamic strategies are not found at all functional levels precisely because they are so dynamic and a police department is a law-abiding, traditional-values type of public organization. These possible explanations and mechanisms need to be investigated in further research.

Information age gurus tend to say that the world has totally changed and that bureaucratic organizations are hopelessly out of touch with these changes. The research provided no evidence for such extreme conclusions and showed specific evidence of how patterns are slowly changing. Our key contribution to the literature on social media in the public sector is that this research highlights how we should understand the changes in terms of interacting value systems: the values embedded in social media make a difference but are mediated by a conservative response from the public organization. This fine-grained understanding of specific shifts, and of strategies for dealing with these shifts, can help the police—and other public organizations—adapt their coping strategies to the changing use of social media and stay connected to societal changes. Sensitivity to specific changes seems to be crucial, and coping strategies that help enhance this sensitivity may be more appropriate in times of societal and technological change than strategies that either emphasize stability or stress the need for radical change.

References

Andersen, Kim Normann, Rony Medaglia, Ravi Vatrapu, Helle Zinner Henriksen, and Robin Gauld. 2011. The Forgotten Promise of E-government Maturity: Assessing Responsiveness in the Digital Public Sector. *Government Information Quarterly* 28(4): 439–45.

Bekkers, Victor, Rebecca Moody, and Arthur Edwards. 2011. Micro-Mobilization, Social Media and Coping Strategies: Some Dutch Cases. *Policy & Internet* 3(4): 1–29.

Bertot, John C., Paul T. Jaeger, and Justin M. Grimes. 2010. Using ICTs to Create a Culture of Transparency: E-government and Social Media as Openness and Anti-corruption Tools for Societies. *Government Information Quarterly* 27(3): 264–71.

Beshears, Michael L. 2016. Effectiveness of Police Social Media Use. American Journal of Criminal Justice. *American Journal of Criminal Justice* 42(3): 489–501.

Bevir, Mark. 2010. *Democratic Governance*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Boeije, Hennie R. 2010. *Analysis in Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications.

Boltanski, Luc, and Laurent Thévenot. 1999. The Sociology of Critical Capacity. *European Journal of Social Theory* 2(3): 359–77.

———. 2006. *On Justification: Economies of Worth*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Bonsón, Enrique, Lourdes Torres, Sonia Royo, and Francisco Flores. 2012. Local E-government 2.0: Social Media and Corporate Transparency in Municipalities. *Government Information Quarterly* 29(2): 123–32.

Boutellier, Hans. 2011. *De improvisatiemaatschappij. Over de sociale ordening van een onbegrensde wereld*. The Hague: Boom Lemma uitgevers.

Briggs, Daniel. 2012. *The English Riots of 2011: A Summer of Discontent*. Hampshire: Waterside Press.

Chew, Cynthia, and Gunther Eysenbach. 2010. Pandemics in the Age of Twitter: Content Analysis of Tweets during the 2009 H1N1 Outbreak. *PLOS ONE* 5(11): e14118.

Chun, Soon Ae, Stuart Shulman, Rodrigo Sandoval, and Eduard Hovy. 2010. Government 2.0: Making Connections between Citizens, Data and Government. *Information Polity* 15(1–2): 1–9.

Commissie Haren. 2013. Twee werelden: Hoofdrapport Commissie "Project X" Haren. https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/rapporten/2013/03/08/twee-werelden-hoofdrapport-commissie-project-x-haren [accessed January 21, 2018].

Crump, Jeremy. 2011. What Are the Police Doing on Twitter? Social Media, the Police and the Public. *Policy & Internet* 3(4): 1–27.

Davis, Edward F., III, Alejandro A. Alves, and David Alan Sklansky. 2014. Social Media and Police Leadership: Lessons from Boston. *Australian Policing* 6(1): 10–16.

de Graaf, Gjalt. 2005. Het beeld van diergeneeskunde studenten van hun toekomstige patiënten en klanten en professionele verantwoordelijkheid. *Tijdschrift voor Diergeneeskunde* 130(21): 654–49.

———. 2016. *Conflicterende waarden in academia*. Amsterdam: Inaugural lecture Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam.

de Graaf, Gjalt, and Leo Huberts. 2008. Portraying the Nature of Corruption. Using an Explorative Case-Study Design. *Public Administration Review* 68(4): 640–53.

de Graaf, Gjalt, Leo Huberts, and Remco Smulders. 2016. Coping with Public Value Conflicts. *Administration & Society* 48(9): 1101–27.

de Graaf, Gjalt, and Albert Meijer. 2013. De nieuwe netwerksamenleving en openbaar bestuur. Wat Landsmeer ons leert over onze bestuurlijke toekomst. *Bestuurskunde* 22(1): 101–6.

de Graaf, Gjalt, and Hester Paanakker. 2015. Good Governance: Performance Values and Procedural Values in Conflict. *American Review of Public Administration* 45(6): 635–52.

de Graaf, Gjalt, and Zeger Van der Wal. 2010. Managing Conflicting Public Values: Governing with Integrity and Effectiveness. *American Review of Public Administration* 40(6): 623–30.

Deibert, Ronald. 1997. *Parchment, Printing, and Hypermedia: Communication and World Order Transformation*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Eisenhardt, Kathleen. 1989. Building Theories from Case Study Research. *Academy of Management Review* 14(4): 532–50.

Gersick, Connie J. G. 1988. Time and Transition in Work Teams: Toward a New Model of Group Development. *Academy of Management Journal* 31(1): 9–41.

Glaser, Barney G., and Anselm L. Strauss. 1967. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. New York: Aldine.

Grimmelikhuijsen, Stephan G., and Albert J. Meijer. 2015. Does Twitter Increase Perceived Police Legitimacy? *Public Administration Review* 75(4): 598–607.

Harris, Stanley G., and Robert I. Sutton. 1986. Functions of Parting Ceremonies in Dying Organizations. *Academy of Management Journal* 29(1): 5–30.

Herriott, Robert E., and William A. Firestone. 1983. Multisite Qualitative Policy Research: Optimizing Description and Generalizability. *Educational Researcher* 12(2): 14–19.

Hoesel, P. H. M. van. 1985. Het programmeren van sociaal beleidsonderzoek: analyse en receptuur. PhD diss., Utrecht University.

Howard, Philip N., and Malcolm R. Parks. 2012. Social Media and Political Change: Capacity, Constraint, and Consequence. *Journal of Communication* 62(2): 359–62.

Huberts, Leo, and E. Van Hout. 2011. Goed bestuur: kiezen of delen? *Bestuurskunde* 20(2): 53–62.

Hutchby, Ian. 2001. *Conversation and Technology: From the Telephone to the Internet*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

———. 2003. Affordances and the Analysis of Technologically Mediated Interaction: A Response to Brian Rappert. *Sociology* 37(3): 581–89.

Jørgensen, Torben Beck, and Barry Bozeman. 2002. Public Values Lost: Comparing Cases on Contracting Out from Denmark and the United States. *Public Management Review* 4(1): 63–81.

Jørgensen, Torben Beck, and Ditte-Lene Sørensen. 2013. Codes of Good Governance: National or Global Values? *Public Integrity* 15(1): 71–96.

Kling, Rob, ed. 1996. *Computerization and Controversy: Value Conflicts and Social Choices*. 2nd ed. San Diego, CA: Morgan Kaufmann.

Klockars, Carl B. 1980. The Dirty Harry Problem. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 452: 33–47.

Korthagen, Iris, and Ingmar Van Meerkerk. 2014. The Effects of Media and their Logic on Legitimacy Sources within Local Governance Networks: A Three-Case Comparative Study. *Local Government Studies* 40(5): 705–28.

Lipsky, Michael. 1980. *Street-Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services*. New York: Russel Sage Foundation.

Loader, Brian D., ed. 2007. *Young Citizens in the Digital Age: Political Engagement, Young People and New Media*. London: Routledge.

Loader, Brian D., and Dan Mercea. 2011. Networking Democracy? Social Media Innovations in Participatory Politics. *Information, Communication and Society* 14(6): 757–69.

Lukes, Stephan. 1996. On Trade-Offs between Values. In *Ethics, Rationality and Economic Behaviour,* edited by Francesco Farina, Frank Hahn, and Stefano Vannucci, 36–49. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Maynard-Moody, Steven, and Michael Musheno. 2003. *Cops, Teachers, Counselors: Stories From the Front Lines of Public Service*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Meijer, Albert J., Bert-Jaap Koops, Willem Jan Pieterson, Sjors Overman, and Sanne ten Tije. 2012. Government 2.0: Key Challenges to Its Realization. *Electronic Journal of e-Government* 10(1): 59–69.

Meijer, Albert, and Marcel Thaens. 2013. Social Media Strategies: Understanding The Differences Between North American Police Departments. *Government Information Quarterly* 30(4): 343–50.

Meijer, Albert J., and René Torenvlied. 2016. Social Media and the New Organization of Government Communications: An Empirical Analysis of Twitter Usage by the Dutch Police. *American Review of Public Administration* 46(2): 143–61.

Mergel, Ines. 2013. Social Media Adoption and Resulting Tactics in the U.S. Federal Government. *Government Information Quarterly* 30(2): 123–30.

———. 2015. Open Collaboration in the Public Sector: The Case of Social Coding on GitHub. *Government Information Quarterly* 32(4): 464–72.

Mergel, Ines, and Stuart Bretschneider. 2013. A Three-Stage Adoption Process for Social Media Use in Government. *Public Administration Review* 73(3): 390–400.

Millgram, Elijah. 1997. Incommensurability and Practical Reasoning. In *Incommensurability, Incomparability, and Practical Reason,* edited by Ruth Chang, 151–69. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties (Ministerie van BZK) [Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations] 2009. *Nederlandse code voor goed openbaar bestuur. Beginselen van deugdelijk overheidsbestuur*. The Hague: Ministerie van BZK.

Morozov, Evgeny. 2013. *To Save Everything, Click Here: Technology, Solutionism and the Urge to Solve Problems That Don't Exist*. London: Allen Lane.

Mossberger, Karen, Yonghong Wu, and Jared Crawford. 2013. Connecting Citizens and Local Governments? Social Media and Interactivity in Major U.S. Cities. *Government Information Quarterly* 30(4): 351–58.

O'Kelly, Ciarán, and Melvin J. Dubnick. 2005. Taking Tough Choices Seriously: Public Administration and Individual Moral Agency. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 16(3): 393–415.

Oldenhof, Lieke, Jeroen Postma, and Kim Putters. 2014. On Justification Work: How Compromising Enables Public Managers to Deal with Conflicting Values. *Public Administration Review* 74(1): 52–63.

Pal, Nirmal, and Daniel Pantaleo, eds. 2005. *The Agile Enterprise: Reinventing Your Organization for Success in an On-Demand World*. New York: Springer.

Postman, Neil. 1985. *Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business*. New York: Penguin.

Raad voor het Openbaar Bestuur (ROB). 2012. In gesprek of verkeerd verbonden? Kansen en risico's van sociale media in de representatieve democratie. https://www.communicatieonline.nl/images/uploads/nieuws/ROB_In_Gesprek_Of_Verkeer_Verbonden_april_2012.pdf [accessed January 21, 2018].

Schilling, Jan. 2006. On the Pragmatics of Qualitative Assessment. *European Journal of Psychological Assessment* 22(1): 28–37.

Schön, Donald A., and Martin Rein. 1994. *Frame Reflection: Toward the Resolution of Intractable Policy*. New York: Basic Books.

Scott, W. Richard. 2013. *Institutions and Organizations: Ideas, Interests, and Identities*. 4th ed. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Sellen, Abigail J., and Richard H. R. Harper. 2002. *The Myth of the Paperless Office*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Sherman, Lawrence W. 2009. Evidence and Liberty: The Promise of Experimental Criminology. *Criminology and Criminal Justice* 9(1): 5–28.

Shirky, Clay. 2011. The Political Power of Social Media: Technology, the Public Sphere, and Political Change. Foreign Affairs, January/February, 28–41.

Skolnick, Jerome H. 1967. *Justice without Trial: Law Enforcement in Democratic Society*. New York: Wiley.

Sørensen, Eva. 2002. Democratic Theory and Network Governance. *Administrative Theory & Praxis* 24(4): 693–720.

Sørensen, Eva, and Jacob Torfing. 2005. The Democratic Anchorage of Government Networks. *Scandinavian Political Studies* 28(3): 195–218.

Spicer, Michael W. 2009. Value Conflict and Legal Reasoning in Public Administration. *Administrative Theory & Praxis* 31(4): 537–55.

Stewart, Jenny. 2006. Value Conflict and Policy Change. *Review of Policy Research* 23(1): 183–95.

Taylor, James R., Carole Groleau, Lorna Heaton, and Elizabeth Van Every-Taylor. 2001. *The Computerization of Work: A Communication Perspective*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Thacher, David, and Martin Rein. 2004. Managing Value Conflict in Public Policy. *Governance* 17(4): 457–86.

Trottier, Daniel, and Christian Fuchs. 2015. *Social Media, Politics and the State: Protests, Revolutions, Riots, Crime and Policing in the Age of Facebook, Twitter and YouTube*. New York: Routledge.

Turkle, Sherry. 2011. *Alone Together: Why We Expect More from Technology and Less from Ourselves*. New York: Basic Books.

Van der Wal, Zeger, Gjalt de Graaf, and Alan Lawton. 2011. Competing Values in Public Management. *Public Management Review* 13(3): 331–41.

Van Dijk, Jan A. G. M. 2012. *The Network Society: Social Aspects of New Media*. London: Sage Publications.

Verdegem, Pieter, and Gino Verleye. 2009. User-Centered E-government in Practice: A Comprehensive Model for Measuring User Satisfaction. *Government Information Quarterly* 26(3): 487–97.

Wagenaar, Hendrik. 1999. Value Pluralism in Public Administration. *Administrative Theory & Praxis* 21(4): 441–49.

Wall, David, ed. 2003. *Crime and the Internet*. New York: Routledge.

Wellman, Barry, and Caroline Haythornthwaite, eds. 2008. *The Internet In Everyday Life*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Williams, Robin, and David Edge. 1996. The Social Shaping of Technology. *Research Policy* 25(6): 865–99.

Willis, James J., and Stephen D. Mastrofski. 2016. Improving Policing by Integrating Craft and Science: What Can Patrol Officers Teach Us about Good Police Work? *Policing and Society*. Published electronically on January 22. https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2015.1135921.

Yin, Robert K. 1989. *Case Study Research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Appendix: Questions of the Semistructured Interviews

1. Can you briefly characterize your work? What exactly is your function and what are your duties?
2. How do you come in contact daily with social media, both privately and at your work?
3. What trends do you see as far as social media are concerned?
4. What differences do you experience in your work that are caused by the use of social media by citizens?
5. What are the rules you have to comply with concerning social media?
6. Can you give an example of an incident in which social media played a role?
7. What do you consider to be difficult decisions in your work that are caused by the use of social media in society? What dilemmas in this respect do you experience, foresee, or know of?
8. Do you think the police could deal better with the use of social media in society, and if so, how?